

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE


WASHINGTON

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE  
EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

November 25, 1972

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER 

SUBJECT: Changes Obtained in the Draft Agreement

The six days we spent in Paris improved the draft agreement and brought us closer to signing it. We made progress on both Vietnamese fronts. With the North Vietnamese we gained some significant changes in the text and narrowed the remaining issues down to the hard core. With the South Vietnamese a continual series of meetings with their representatives in Paris, of increasing bluntness and electricity, served to bring home the perils of their present course and the impossibility of further delay.

We still have very difficult work ahead in both respects. The North Vietnamese position at the end was very tough; it will take hard bargaining to milk the few remaining changes we need. And while his representatives now grasp the situation, Thieu himself remains intransigent. Starting with your meeting with his emissary Duc, we will have to continue our heavy pressure to bring Saigon around.

In this context getting a brief recess in the talks was essential. It shows Hanoi we cannot be stampeded and disarms Thieu who probably expected us to finish this week regardless. We have thus regained the tactical initiative and should now be able to complete the task of reaching a peaceful settlement of the war.

What We Achieved

We came into this round of talks with an agreement that we already considered excellent. This week we have further improved the agreement by securing roughly a dozen changes, some of substance and others more technical, but all in our favor. Following are the significant ones so far:

-- In several articles, including the first one, we have removed invidious references to the U.S. by changing purely American obligations to ones required of all foreign countries.

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This includes respect for the independence, etc. of Vietnam and not imposing a political solution on South Vietnam. Thus, the document has a better tone and the obligations are made on both sides.

-- We have inserted language which allows military aid replacements for material which has been "used up" as well as "destroyed" in South Vietnam. As Le Duc Tho pointed out, he recognizes that there are now no practical inhibitions on our military assistance.

-- In the political chapter we have made an improvement by deleting from the tasks of the National Council the "maintenance of the ceasefire" and "preservation of peace," thus marginally reducing the Council's prerogatives. We have also improved the tone of the article dealing with South Vietnam's future foreign policy by including recognition of respect for its sovereignty.

-- We have achieved significant improvement in the chapter on reunification and the demilitarized zone, based partly on GVN suggestions. There is now a specific obligation for North and South Vietnam to respect the DMZ.

-- We have obtained modest improvements in the chapter on Cambodia and Laos. There is new language which says that the parties shall strictly respect their obligations under the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, and making clear that the parties are not to encroach on the sovereignty and security of one another in Indochina. Finally, we deleted the reference to "three" Indochinese countries, which the GVN felt strongly about; no number is now used.

In addition to the above, Le Duc Tho has offered to make understandings outside the agreement with respect to redeploying some North Vietnamese troops from MR-1 and making the Laos ceasefire closer to the Vietnam ceasefire than the one-month period that was agreed in October.



The Remaining Issues

The fewer the remaining issues the more unyielding they become. After the fourth day's session Le Duc Tho, as you know, drew the lines and said that he could go no further. Their current position:

-- Withdrawal of U.S. civilians engaged in any military activities.

-- No further changes in the political chapter.

-- The freeing of South Vietnamese civilian prisoners in the same time frame as American POWs.

-- In exchange for the above, the North Vietnamese would agree to:

. Making the ceasefire in Laos more simultaneous with the one in Vietnam (it is now one month later).

. The de facto withdrawal of some North Vietnamese forces from the northern part of South Vietnam.

I told Tho that this was clearly unacceptable. I specifically rejected the tying of the release of our prisoners with the thorny issue of political prisoners in the South.

We have to keep Hanoi's tough position in perspective, however. They first said that there was no reason to meet again; then said we could meet but make no changes; and then said only technical changes were possible. We have obtained a good deal more and so far have made absolutely no changes in their favor.

Though the agreement is already sound, we need a few more changes primarily for our dealings with Saigon. As I outlined to you in my November 23 message I believe we should push for the following package:

-- Refusal to agree to the freeing of political prisoners. This issue should be handled in an understanding linked to the de facto withdrawal of NVA troops. This prevents any link to our own prisoners and gives Thieu bargaining material on the troop and political issues.



-- Minimum further modifications in the political chapter. We should change the current Vietnamese translation of "administrative structure" which has a certain governmental connotation for the Council. We will have to accept "three equal segments" for the Council but should specify that the composition is appointed equally by the two sides. This gives Thieu effective control of half the body, which operates by unanimity in any event.

-- Add a sentence to the section on demobilizing Vietnamese troops that makes this process on a one-to-one basis on both sides. This gives the GVN a great advantage with its much larger army. We should also try to get a sentence that the Vietnamese "will do their utmost to accomplish troop reductions" within three months of the agreement, i.e., in parallel with the political process.

-- Finally we should try to get a principle in the Laos and Cambodia chapter to the effect that the countries of Indochina should not use armed force against one another. This is the best we can do concerning any language about the deployment of NVA troops.

-- In exchange for the above we will have to give them some language on the withdrawal of certain U.S. civilians that won't significantly affect the GVN defense effort; and try to satisfy Hanoi on political prisoners by pressing for some releases outside of the agreement.

Given Hanoi's current tough posture we probably cannot obtain all of these. With very tough going we should get enough to improve a basically sound agreement that we have already improved this week.



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The Agreement As It Now Stands

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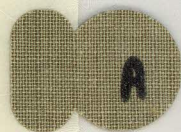
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[OPTION FOR FOUR PARTY SIGNING]

AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR

AND

RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Vietnam ~~with the concurrence of those other countries allied with them on the one hand,~~ and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam; ~~on the other hand;~~

With a view to ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, and to contributing to the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world;

Have agreed on the following provisions and undertake to respect and to implement them:



Chapter I

THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S  
FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL RIGHTS

*All countries shall*  
Article 1. - ~~[The United States]~~ respects the independence,  
sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Vietnam as recognized  
by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.



Chapter II

CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES - WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS

Article 2. - A ceasefire shall be observed throughout South Vietnam as of \_\_\_\_\_ hours [~~Indochina time~~], on \_\_\_\_\_, 1972, i.e. \_\_\_\_\_ hours] G. M. T., on \_\_\_\_\_, 1972.

At the same hour, the United States will stop all its military activities against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by ground, air and naval forces, wherever they may be based, and end the mining of the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The United States will remove, permanently deactivate or destroy all the mines in the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of North Vietnam as soon as this agreement goes into effect.

The complete cessation of hostilities mentioned in this Article shall be durable and without limit of time.

Article 3. - The Parties undertake to maintain the ceasefire and to ensure a lasting and stable peace. As soon as the ceasefire goes into effect:

a) The United States forces and those of the other foreign countries allied with the United States and with the Republic of Vietnam shall remain in-place pending the implementation of the plan of troop



withdrawal. The Four-Party Joint Military Commission described in Article <sup>16</sup>~~11~~ shall determine the modalities.

b) The armed forces of the two South Vietnamese parties shall remain in-place. The Two-Party Joint Military Commission described in Article <sup>17</sup>~~12~~ shall determine the areas controlled by each party and the modalities of stationing.

c) The regular forces of all services and arms and the irregular forces of the parties in South Vietnam shall stop all offensive activities against each other and shall strictly abide by the following stipulations:

- All acts of force on the ground, in the air, and on the sea shall be prohibited;

- All hostile acts, terrorism and reprisals by both sides will be banned.

Article 4. - The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam.

Article 5. - Within sixty days of the signing of this agreement, there will be a total withdrawal from South Vietnam of troops, military advisers, and military personnel, including technical military personnel and military personnel associated with the pacification program, <sup>✓</sup>armaments, munitions, and war material of the United States and those of the other foreign countries allied with the United States and with the

DRV proposes  
withdrawal  
of civilian  
advisers to  
military  
branches.  
US rejects



Republic of Vietnam. Advisers from the above-mentioned countries to all paramilitary organizations and the police force will also be withdrawn within the same period of time.

Article 6. - The dismantlement of all military bases of the United States and those of the other foreign countries allied with the United States and with the Republic of Vietnam in South Vietnam shall be completed within sixty days of the signing of this agreement.

Article 7. - From the enforcement of the ceasefire to the formation of the government provided for in Articles 9b) and 9i) of this agreement, the two South Vietnamese parties shall not accept the introduction of troops, military advisers, and military personnel including technical military personnel, armaments, munitions, and war material into South Vietnam.

The two South Vietnamese parties shall be permitted to make periodical replacements of armaments, munitions and war material which have been <sup>destroyed, damaged, worn out or used up</sup> ~~worn out or damaged~~ after the ceasefire, on the basis of piece-for-piece, of the same characteristics and properties, under the supervision of the Joint Military Commission of the two South Vietnamese parties and of the International Commission of Control and Supervision.



Chapter III

DRV proposes freeing  
political prisoners  
by deleting 8(c).  
US rejects.

THE RETURN OF CAPTURED MILITARY PERSONNEL  
AND FOREIGN CIVILIANS OF THE PARTIES

Article 8. - a) The return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties shall be carried out simultaneously with and completed on the same day as the troop withdrawal mentioned in Article 5. The parties shall exchange complete lists of the above-mentioned captured military personnel and foreign civilians on the day of the signing of this agreement.

b) The parties shall help each other to get information about those captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties missing in action, to determine the location and take care of the graves of the dead so as to facilitate the exhumation and repatriation of the remains, and to take any such other measures as may be required to get information about those still considered missing in action.

c) The question of other Vietnamese civilian personnel detained in South Vietnam and not covered by 8 a) above will be resolved by the South Vietnamese parties on the basis of the principles of Article 21 b) of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam of July 20, 1954. The South Vietnamese parties will do so in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, with a view to ending hatred and enmity, in order to ease suffering and to reunite families.

The two South Vietnamese parties will do their utmost to resolve this question within three months after the ceasefire comes into effect.



Chapter IV

US seeks a few further  
changes in political  
chapter. DRV rejects.

THE EXERCISE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S  
RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Article 9. - The Government of the United States of America  
and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam undertake  
to respect the following principles for the exercise of the South Viet-  
namese people's right to self-determination:

a) The South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination  
is sacred, inalienable, and shall be respected by all countries.

b) The South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves  
the political future of South Vietnam through genuinely free and dem-  
ocratic general elections under international supervision.

Article 10. a) The two South Vietnamese parties undertake to respect  
the ceasefire and maintain peace in South Vietnam, settle all matters  
of contention through negotiations, and avoid all armed conflict.

*Foreign countries shall not impose any*  
c) d) *political tendency or personality on the South Vietnamese people.*  
The United States declares that it respects the South  
Vietnamese people's right to self-determination; it is not committed  
to any political tendency or to any personality in South Vietnam; and  
it does not seek to impose a pro-American government in Saigon.

Article 11. a) Immediately after the ceasefire, the two South Vietnamese  
parties will:



- achieve national reconciliation and concord; end hatred and enmity; prohibit all acts of reprisal and discrimination against individuals or organizations that have collaborated with one side or the other;

- ensure the democratic liberties of the people: personal freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of meeting, freedom of organization, freedom of political activities, freedom of belief, freedom of movement, freedom of residence, freedom of work, right to property ownership, and right to free enterprise.

Article 12 a) ~~§~~ Immediately after the ceasefire, the two South Vietnamese parties shall hold consultations in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, mutual respect, and mutual non-elimination to set up an administrative structure called the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments. \* The Council shall operate on the principle of unanimity. After the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord has assumed its functions, the two South Vietnamese parties will consult about the formation of councils at lower levels. The two South Vietnamese parties shall sign an agreement on the internal matters of South Vietnam as soon as possible and do their utmost to accomplish this within three months

US insists  
on correct  
Vietnamese  
translation.

\*US insists  
on adding that  
3rd segment  
will be equally  
appointed by  
both sides.



after the ceasefire comes into effect, in keeping with the South Vietnamese people's aspirations for peace, independence and democracy.

8) ~~g)~~ The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord shall have the task of promoting the two South Vietnamese parties' implementation of the signed agreements, ~~[maintenance of the ceasefire, preservation of peace,]~~ achievement of national reconciliation and concord and ensuring of democratic liberties. The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord will organize the free and democratic general elections provided for in Article 9 b) and decide the procedures and modalities of these elections. The institutions for which the general elections are to be held will be agreed upon through consultations between the two South Vietnamese parties. The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord will also decide the procedures and modalities of such local elections as the two South Vietnamese parties agree upon.

Article 13 ~~h)~~ The question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam shall be settled by the two South Vietnamese parties in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, equality and mutual respect, without foreign interference, in accordance with the postwar situation. Among

the questions to be discussed by the two South Vietnamese parties are steps to reduce the military numbers on both sides and to demobilize the troops being reduced.

US insists on  
demobilization  
on a one-for-one  
basis, with  
parties  
to do utmost to  
accomplish it within  
3 months.



Article 14.

i) South Vietnam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and independence. ~~[It will respect the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam which prohibit the joining of any military alliance or military bloc or the maintenance by foreign powers of military bases, troops, military advisers and military personnel on its territory.]~~ <sup>be prepared to establish</sup> It will ~~maintain~~ relations with all countries irrespective of their political or social systems <sup>on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and independence</sup> and accept economic and technical aid from any country with no political conditions attached. The acceptance of military aid by South Vietnam in the future shall come under the authority of the government set up after the general elections in South Vietnam.



Chapter V

THE REUNIFICATION OF VIETNAM AND THE RELATIONSHIP  
BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH VIETNAM

Article 10. - [As stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, the military demarcation line at the 17th parallel is only provisional and not a political or territorial boundary.]

The reunification of Vietnam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means, on the basis of discussions and agreements between North and South Vietnam, without coercion or annexation by either party, and without foreign interference. The time for reunification will be agreed upon by North and South Vietnam.

[Pending reunification,] South and North Vietnam shall promptly start negotiations toward the reestablishment of normal relations in various fields.

[Pending reunification,] South and North Vietnam shall not join any military alliance or military bloc and shall not allow foreign powers to maintain military bases, troops, military advisers, and military personnel on their respective territories, as stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

*Pending reunification:*

*The military demarcation line at the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel is only provisional and not a political or territorial boundary as provided in Paragraph 6 of the Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference. South and North Vietnam shall respect the Demilitarized Zone on either side of the Provisional Military Demarcation Line.*



New Chapter V  
as agreed

Chapter V

THE REUNIFICATION OF VIETNAM AND THE RELATIONSHIP  
BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH  
VIETNAM

Article 15 - The reunification of Vietnam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means on the basis of discussions and agreements between North and South Vietnam, without coercion or annexation by either party, and without foreign interference. The time for reunification will be agreed upon by North and South Vietnam.

Pending reunification:

The military demarcation line between the two zones at the 17th parallel is only provisional and not a political or territorial boundary as provided in paragraph 6 of the Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference.

South and North Vietnam shall respect the Demilitarized Zone on either side of the Provisional Military Demarcation Line.

South and North Vietnam shall promptly start negotiations toward the reestablishment of normal relations in various fields;

South and North Vietnam shall not join any military alliance or military bloc and shall not allow foreign powers to



maintain military bases, troops, military advisers, and military personnel on their respective territories, as stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.



Chapter VI

THE JOINT MILITARY COMMISSIONS,  
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION  
OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION,  
THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

16 *The Parties participating in*  
Article 11. -a) *[The Government of the United States of*  
*the Paris Conference on Vietnam*  
~~America, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, the Gov-~~  
~~ernment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provi-~~  
~~sional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-~~  
~~nam]~~ shall immediately designate representatives to form a Four-  
Party Joint Military Commission with the task of ensuring joint  
action by the parties in implementing the following provisions of  
this agreement:

- The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding  
the enforcement of the ceasefire throughout South Vietnam.
- Article 3 a), regarding the ceasefire by  
U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries allied to the  
United States and the Republic of Vietnam.
- Article 3 c), regarding the ceasefire  
between all parties in South Vietnam.
- Article 5 regarding the withdrawal from  
South Vietnam of U.S. troops and those of the other foreign



countries allied with the United States and with the Republic of Vietnam.

- Article 6, regarding the dismantlement of military bases in South Vietnam of the United States and those of the other foreign countries allied with the United States and with the Republic of Vietnam.

- Article 8, regarding the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties.

b) The four-party Joint Military Commission shall operate in accordance with the principle of consultations and unanimous agreement. Disagreements shall be referred to the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

c) The four-party Joint Military Commission shall begin operating immediately after the signing of this agreement and end its activities after the implementation of the first paragraph of Article 2, Articles 3a) and 3c), and Articles 5, 6 and 8 of this agreement.

d) The four parties shall agree immediately on the organization, the working procedure, means of activity, and expenditures of the four-party Joint Military Commission.

<sup>17</sup>  
Article ~~12~~. - The Government of the Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic



of South Vietnam shall immediately designate representatives to form a Joint Military Commission composed of the two South Vietnamese parties with the task of ensuring joint action by the two South Vietnamese parties in implementing the following provisions of this agreement concerning the two parties:

- The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding the enforcement of the ceasefire throughout South Vietnam, when the Four Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities.

- Article 3b), regarding the ceasefire between the South Vietnamese parties.

- Article 3c), regarding the ceasefire between all parties in South Vietnam, when the Four Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities.

- Article 7, regarding the introduction of troops into South Vietnam and all its other provisions.

- Article 9 h), regarding the question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam.

Disagreements shall be referred to the International Commission of Control and Supervision. After the signing of this agreement, the two-party Joint Military Commission shall agree immediately on the measures and the organization aimed at enforcing the ceasefire and preserving peace in South Vietnam.



Article <sup>18</sup>13. -a) After the signing of this agreement, an International Commission of Control and Supervision shall be established immediately.

b) Until the international [guarantee] conference makes definitive arrangements, the International Commission of Control and Supervision will report to the four parties on matters concerning the control and supervision of the implementation of the following provisions of this agreement:

- The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding the enforcement of the ceasefire in South Vietnam.

- Article 3a), regarding the ceasefire by U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries allied to the United States.

- Article 3c), regarding the ceasefire between all the parties in South Vietnam.

- Article 5, regarding the withdrawal from South Vietnam of U.S. troops and those of the other foreign countries allied with the U.S. and with the Republic of Vietnam.

- Article 6, regarding the dismantlement of military bases in South Vietnam of the United States and those of the other foreign countries allied with the U.S. and with the Republic of Vietnam.



- Article 8, regarding the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties.

The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall form control teams for carrying out its tasks. The four parties shall agree immediately on the location and operation of these teams. The parties will facilitate their operation.

c) Until the international [guarantee] conference makes definitive arrangements, the International Commission of Control and Supervision will report to the two South Vietnamese parties for the control and supervision of the implementation of the following provisions of this agreement:

- The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding the enforcement of the ceasefire throughout South Vietnam.

- Article 3 b), regarding the ceasefire between the South Vietnamese parties.

- Article 3 c), regarding the ceasefire between all parties in South Vietnam, when the Four Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities.

- Article 7, regarding the introduction of troops into South Vietnam and all its other provisions.

- Article 9 b), regarding the free and democratic general elections in South Vietnam.



- Article 9 h), regarding any agreements reached between the two Vietnamese parties on the reduction of military numbers of the Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam and the demobilization of troops being reduced.

The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall form international control teams for carrying out these tasks. The two South Vietnamese parties shall agree immediately on the location and operation of these teams. The parties will facilitate their operation.

d) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall be composed of representatives of four countries: Canada, Hungary, Indonesia and Poland. The chairmanship of this Commission will rotate among the members for specific periods to be determined by the Commission.

e) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall carry out its tasks in accordance with the principle of respect for <sup>the</sup> sovereignty of South Vietnam.

f) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall operate in accordance with the principle of consultations and unanimity.

g) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall begin operating when a ceasefire comes into



force in Vietnam. As regards the provisions in Article 13b) concerning the four parties, the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall end its activities when the Commission's tasks of control and supervision regarding these provisions have been fulfilled. As regards the provisions in Article 13 c) concerning the two South Vietnamese parties, the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall end its activities on the request of the government formed after the general elections provided for in Article 9 b).

h) The four parties shall agree immediately on the organization, means of action, and expenditures of the International Commission of Control and Supervision. The relationship between the International Commission and the international guarantee conference <sup>provided for in Article 19</sup> will be agreed upon by the International Commission and the international conference.

Article <sup>19.</sup>~~14.~~ - The parties agree on the convening of an international conference within 30 days of the signing of this agreement to acknowledge the signed agreements; to guarantee the ending of the war, the maintenance of peace in Vietnam, the respect of the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights, and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination; and to contribute to and guarantee peace in Indochina.



*on behalf of the parties  
participating in the Paris Conference  
on Vietnam*

The United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam,  
will propose to the following parties that they participate in this  
international conference: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,  
the People's Republic of China, France, the United Kingdom, the  
four countries of the International Commission of Control and  
Supervision, and the Secretary General of the United Nations,  
together with the parties to the Paris Conference on Vietnam.



Chapter VII

CAMBODIA AND LAOS

reaffirm their obligations  
under the 1954 Geneva  
Agreements on Cambodia and  
the 1962 Geneva Agreements on  
Laos and

20. *The Parties participating in the*  
Article 15. -a) ~~[The Government of the United States of~~  
*Paris Conference on Vietnam*  
~~America, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, the Gov-~~  
~~ernment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Pro-~~  
~~visional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-~~  
~~nam]~~ shall strictly respect the Cambodian and the Lao peoples'  
fundamental national rights as recognized *therein,* ~~by the 1954 Geneva~~  
~~Agreements on Indochina and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on~~  
~~Laos]~~ i. e. the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial  
integrity of these countries. They shall respect the neutrality  
of Cambodia and Laos.

*The Parties participating in the Paris Conference*  
~~[The Government of the United States of America, the Gov-~~  
*on Vietnam*  
~~ernment of the Republic of Vietnam, the Government of the Demo-~~  
~~cratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Provisional Revolutionary Gov-~~  
~~ernment of the Republic of South Vietnam]~~ undertake to refrain from  
using the territory of Cambodia and the territory of Laos to encroach  
on the sovereignty and security *of one another and* of other countries.

b) Foreign countries shall put an end to all military  
activities in Laos and Cambodia, totally withdraw from and refrain  
from reintroducing into these two countries troops, military ad-  
visers and military personnel, armaments, munitions and war material.



c) The internal affairs of Cambodia and Laos shall be settled by the people of each of these countries without foreign interference.

d) The problems existing between the ~~three~~ Indo-chinese countries shall be settled by the Indochinese parties on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's

internal affairs, accepting the principle that the countries of Indochina should not use armed force against each other.

Note:  
we are  
insisting  
on such  
a clause.



Chapter VIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND  
THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

<sup>21.</sup>  
Article ~~16.~~ - The United States expects that this agreement will usher in an era of reconciliation with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as with all the peoples of Indochina. In pursuance of its traditional policy, the United States will contribute to healing the wounds of war and to post-war reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and throughout Indochina.

<sup>22.</sup>  
Article ~~17.~~ - The ending of the war, the restoration of peace in Vietnam, and the strict implementation of this agreement will create conditions for establishing a new, equal, and mutually beneficial relationship between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. At the same time it will ensure stable peace in Vietnam and contribute to the preservation of lasting peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.



Chapter IX

OTHER PROVISIONS

Article <sup>23</sup>18. - This agreement shall come into force as of its signing. It will be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in \_\_\_\_\_ on \_\_\_\_\_, 1972,  
in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and the English  
texts are official and equally authentic. [Subsequently a French  
text will be prepared for reference.]